

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 018364
ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: PRESS ACCOUNT OF SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF ARTICLE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA BY
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AND GUIDANCE PREPARED FOR PRESS BRIEFING OF SAME DATE.
NO QUESTIONS CONCERNING APPLE ARTICLE WERE RAISED DURING
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BRIEFING BUT ADDRESSEE POSTS MAY USE SAME GUIDANCE SHOULD
LOCAL MEDIA MAKE INQUIRIES.

2. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED TEXT: QUOTE

SENIOR BRITISH AIDES PREDICT ACCORDS THIS YEAR IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE BELIEF THAT THIS WILL BE THE YEAR OF DECISION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS TAKEN HOLD AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. SENIOR MINISTERS HAVE CONCLUDED THAT, FOR BETTER OR WORSE, ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO BLACK GOVERNMENTS IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH-WEST AFRICA ARE LIKELY TO BE COMPLETED WELL BEFORE THE END OF 1978, ENDING MORE THAN A DECADE OF DISPUTE AND DELAY.

BUT THERE IS GROWING UNCERTAINTY HERE AS TO WHETHER THE ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE "INTERNALLY" -- THAT IS, BETWEEN THE PRESENT WHITE RULERS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THE CONSERVATIVE BLACK POLITICIANS OPERATING WITHIN THEIR BORDERS -- OR "INTERNATIONALLY", WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE MORE RADICAL BLACKS WHO OPERATE FROM NEARBY COUNTRIES.

ON THAT QUESTION HANG A SERIES OF OTHERS: WHAT SORT OF GOVERNMENTS WILL RHODESIA AND SOUTH-WEST AFRICA HAVE? WILL THE WEST BE SEEN AS THE FRIEND OR THE FOE OF BLACK SELF-DETERMINATION? WILL SOUTHERN AFRICA BECOME THE STAGE FOR A LONG-TERM EAST-WEST CONFLICT? AND WHAT OF SOUTH AFRICA?

BRITAIN IS AT THE CENTER OF THE STRUGGLE BY WESTERN NATIONS TO CONTAIN THE PASSIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.
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INDEED, SOUTHERN AFRICA IS PROBABLY THE LAST CRITICAL FOREIGN-POLICY AREA IN WHICH BRITAIN, ARGUABLY THE WORLD'S MAJOR POWER ONLY 50 YEARS AGO, HAS A KEY ROLE.

BROAD AGREEMENT ON POLICY

DESPITE TENSIONS IN RECENT MONTHS BETWEEN BRITISH AND AMERICAN POLICY PLANNERS IN THIS AREA, THE TWO NATIONS APPEAR TO BE IN BROAD AGREEMENT AS A NEW AND CRITICAL PHASE OF THE DRAMA OF SOUTHERN AFRICA BEGINS. DISCUSSIONS HERE THIS MONTH BETWEEN RICHARD MOOSE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S TOP AFRICA EXPERT, AND DR. DAVID OWEN, THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY, ARE REPORTED TO HAVE LEFT NO MAJOR AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT.

WHAT FOLLOWS IS AN ACCOUNT, BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH THOSE BRITONS MOST INTIMATELY INVOLVED WITH AFRICA POLICY, OF THE MOST LIKELY COURSE OF EVENTS OVER THE NEXT THREE OR FOUR MONTHS:

TO THE CONSIDERABLE SURPRISE OF POLICY-MAKERS HERE, SOUTH-WEST AFRICA SUDDENLY LOOKS LIKE THE KEY. FOR

THE PAST YEAR, THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE BEEN APPLYING PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA TO AGREE TO A SET OF CONDITIONS FOR FREE ELECTIONS THERE, AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS, AS ONE OFFICIAL PUT IT, "HAVE GIVEN US QUITE A LOT."

AN UNPALATABLE ALTERNATIVE

THEY HAVE BEEN UNWILLING, HOWEVER, TO BACK OFF FROM THEIR INSISTENCE ON HAVING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS PRESENT DURING THE ELECTIONS. ANALYSTS HERE AND IN WASHINGTON NOW BELIEVE THAT PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER IS ABOUT TO OPT ANGRILY FOR AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, IN WHICH ELECTIONS WOULD BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT THE COOPERATION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION, THE DOMINANT BLACK LIBERATION GROUP.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER JAMES CALLAGHAN, AND FOR THE UNITED STATES AS WELL, THAT IS AN UNPALATABLE ALTERNATIVE. SUCH ELECTIONS WOULD PRESENT THE WEST WITH DIFFICULT RECOGNITION PROBLEMS; THEY MIGHT LEAD TO GUERRILLA OPERATIONS WITHIN A BLACK-RULED SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, WITH OR WITHOUT CUBAN OR SOVIET BACKING; AND THEY WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY ALIENATE THE BLACK GOVERNMENTS IN SUCH COUNTRIES AS NIGERIA AND ZAMBIA.

THE BRITISH NONETHELESS BELIEVE THAT WITH THE RECENT ADOPTION OF A MANDATORY UNITED NATIONS ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, PRETORIA HAS BEEN PUSHED ABOUT AS FAR AS IT SHOULD BE, AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT. THERE ARE THREE MAIN REASONS FOR THAT VIEW:

A. THE FEAR THAT MR. VORSTER WILL SEEK AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT NOT ONLY IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA BUT ALSO IN RHODESIA, WHERE HE HAS GREAT INFLUENCE;

B. THE BELIEF THAT FURTHER SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE FLOUTED BY MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES, AS WERE THE SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA IN THE LATE 1960'S;

C. THE PRESSURES FROM BRITISH BUSINESS INTERESTS, AS WELL AS THE TREASURY AND TRADE MINISTRY OFFICIALS IN WHITEHALL, WHO ARE EAGER TO SAFEGUARD BRITAIN'S ENORMOUS EXPORT TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH TOTALED \$1.3 BILLION LAST YEAR, AS WELL AS ITS \$600 MILLION INVESTMENT THERE.

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BRITISH TO PUT PRESSURE ON REBELS

SO THE BRITISH PLAN TO LEAN AS HARD AS THEY CAN, IN COMING WEEKS, ON THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION. INDEED, ONE HIGH-RANKING FIGURE IN THE GOVERNMENT SAID RECENTLY THAT "THE WHOLE OUTCOME IN SOUTHERN AFRICA MAY DEPEND ON WHETHER WE CAN DELIVER SWAPO FOR AN INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT."

FROM BOTH THE BRITISH AND THE AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW, ONE OF THE MOST WORRISOME THINGS ABOUT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, WHICH MR. VORSTER MIGHT DECIDE UPON AS SOON AS FRIDAY, WHEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATURE IS TO DEBATE ITS POLICY ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, WOULD BE ITS EFFECT ON RHODESIA.

IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS WON EVEN GRUDGING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE FOR ELECTIONS IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA IN WHICH SWAPO DID NOT PARTICIPATE, AFRICAN EXPERTS HERE BELIEVE, THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE EVERY REASON TO SUPPORT THE EFFORTS BY PRIME MINISTER IAN D. SMITH OF RHODESIA TO TAKE THE SAME ROUTE IN HIS OWN COUNTRY. UNTIL NOW, SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN TACITLY SUPPORTING THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PROPOSALS ON RHODESIA, WHICH ENVISAGE THE PARTICIPATION IN A FUTURE BLACK GOVERNMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND ITS "FREEDOM FIGHTERS" OUTSIDE RHODESIA.

AN INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, BRITISH OFFICIALS BELIEVE, WOULD ENCOURAGE SOUTH AFRICA TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING THE SAME ALTERNATIVE IN RHODESIA.

DESPITE MR. SMITH'S PROGRESS IN HIS EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS ARE WORKING HARD TO KEEP THEIR PROPOSALS

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ALIVE. THEY ARE DOING SO PARTLY BECAUSE THEY THINK THAT AN INTERNATIONALLY AGREED SETTLEMENT, IN WHICH ALL PARTIES WOULD TAKE PART, WOULD PROVIDE THE BEST HOPE OF STABILITY.

BUT THE BRITISH, AT LEAST, ALSO REALIZE THAT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT MAY BE INEVITABLE, AND THEY HOPE

THAT THEIR CONTINUED CONTACTS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS JOSHUA NKOMO AND ROBERT MUGABE, WILL PROMPT MR. SMITH TO ADOPT A HIGHLY FLEXIBLE POSITION. THE MORE FRIGHTENED HE IS OF A TAKEOVER BY THE RADICAL PATRIOTIC FRONT, WHICH OPERATES FROM OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY, THEIR THINKING GOES, THE MORE HE WILL BE INCLINED TO YIELD OF HIS OWN ACCORD TO THE BLACK RHODESIANS.

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QUESTION: DOES THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AGREE WITH THE

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ANSWER: OUR COOPERATION WITH THE BRITISH ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN MATTERS HAS BEEN CLOSE AND PRODUCTIVE AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S TALKS IN LONDON WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN WERE PARTICULARLY USEFUL IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CHARTING A COMMON COURSE ON RHODESIAN AND OTHER

SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES. AS FOR NAMIBIA, I BELIEVE IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT ALL OF THE WESTERN FIVE CONTACT GROUP WHICH HAS BEEN WORKING TO NEGOTIATE A FRAMEWORK FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA AGREE THAT MOVEMENT BY BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO IS NECESSARY AT THIS STAGE.

CONSIDERING THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS ILLEGALLY IN OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AS RECOGNIZED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AND THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. WE ARE PLEASED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN WILLING TO MODIFY ITS POSITION ON THE NATURE OF THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE TO CONFORM MORE CLOSELY TO THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS SET FORTH BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN RESOLUTION 385. HOWEVER, IT IS THIS STANDARD AGAINST WHICH ANY SETTLEMENT WILL BE MEASURED AND THE EFFORT OF THE FIVE POWERS HAS BEEN TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON A PLAN WHICH MEETS THIS STANDARD.

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 018364 SENT ACTION DAR ES SALAAM
LAGOS LONDON LUSAKA MAPUTO PRETORIA USUN NEW YORK CAPE TOWN
JAN 24.

QUOTE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 018364

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

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DESPITE MR. SMITH'S PROGRESS IN HIS EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS ARE WORKING HARD TO KEEP THEIR PROPOSALS ALIVE. THEY ARE DOING SO PARTLY BECAUSE THEY THINK THAT AN INTERNATIONALLY AGREED SETTLEMENT, IN WHICH ALL PARTIES WOULD TAKE PART, WOULD PROVIDE THE BEST HOPE OF STABILITY.

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FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA AGREE THAT MOVEMENT BY BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO IS NECESSARY AT THIS STAGE.

CONSIDERING THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS ILLEGALLY IN OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AS RECOGNIZED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AND THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. WE ARE PLEASED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN WILLING TO MODIFY ITS POSITION ON THE NATURE OF THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE TO CONFORM MORE CLOSELY TO THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS SET FORTH BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN RESOLUTION 385. HOWEVER, IT IS THIS STANDARD

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Enclosure: n/a
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